TEXT FLY WITHIN THE BOOK ONLY

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_158973

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

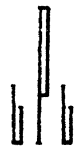
Our Economic Problems

BY

PROF. R. V. RAO, M.A., B.T.

Head of the Department of Economics

Dharmendrasinhji College, Rajkot (Kathiawar)



1946

LION PRESS - LAHORE

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY S. A. LATIF AT THE LION PRESS,
HOSPITAL ROAD, LAHORE

PREFACE

Something is wrong with our economic and social life. Situated as we are, our present system hampers initiative and frustrates energy and "the belief that a nation's wealth is its capacity for production rather than gold is gaining ground. We have to create such conditions for production as will enable all the people to have a square deal.

The various essays in this book deal with the pressing problems of the country. It may be mentioned that needs of the general reader were kept in view while writing these essays. The author had the privilege of writing on some of these problems to the leading Economic Journals of India besides giving talks from several Broadcasting Stations. Several friends suggested that it would be better to bring them in book form so that the general public may have an opportunity of considering the pressing problems of the day. These coupled with the good reception accorded to the author's previous books have persuaded him to rush in. Any suggestions for its improvement will be gratefully acknowledged.

Rajkot: R. V. RAO
15th Feb. 1946.

CONTENTS

		Page
I.	Essentials of Economic Planning in India	9
II.	Our Standard of Living	27
II.	Food Planning	36
IV.	Population and Planning	43
V.	Cloth Planning For 400 Millions	51
VI.	Our Cottage Industries	59
VII.	Paper-making as Cottage Industry	68
VIII.	Charkha in India's National Economy	75
IX.	Social Security or Freedom from Want	84
X.	Some Problems of Labour Welfare	95
XI.	Future of War-Time Industries	104
XII.	Hurdles to International Peace	111

CHAPTER I

Essentials of Economic Planning in India

It is a good sign of the times we are now realising the significance of our economic problem. The home front is, therefore, said to be as important as the war front and attempts are made to see that there is economic production and distribution so that there can bemaximum social welfare.

Objectives of Planning

Regarding the objectives of economic planning, one may of course refer to the various schools of thought. Some people speak of security, meaning thereby, security of privileges and vested interests; while the votaries of power economics really mean the lowering of economic freedoms in the name of discipline. There is the welfare school which holds the view that maximum social welfare should be our objective. Considering the economic conditions of our country, we find that the standard of diet of the

vast masses is below the level of nutrition and as such any planning to be successful must aim at making the people free from want. It may not be out of place to mention that mathematical solution based upon the investment multiplier and the ratio will not be of much use. Since it is on planning that India pins her hopes, we should see that planning proceeds on right lines.

We have, of course, to prevent abrupt transition from war to peace economy. Further, the labour force released for war-time employment should be provided employment. Industries started during the period of the war should be protected. The controls we are having at the present time should be continued during the entire period of the plan. We shall also have to control our investment. In this way it is easy to get over the difficulties of post-war boom and its corollary depression.

Grow-More-Food Campaign

In all post-war plans, there is naturally much talk about increased food production. That is why there is the 'grow-more-food' campaign. Taking 2800 calories as the requirement of a human being per day, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji has come to the conclusion that there is food deficiency for 45 millions. Growing more food is not enough; we

should grow the right type of food from the point of view of nutrition.

Planning of all Sectors Essential

Again, when we are planning, we must see that all the sectors are planned. Planning, after all, is the process of a complete economic integration of the entire life of the country in which all aspects of economic life are judicially co-ordinated. For example, if we just take the question of planning industries, our main anxiety should be to see that we make use of our new materials, mineral resources, forest resources, etc. There are several who have mania for industrialisation or say "industrialise or perish." This is based on the assumption that as the per capita output of capital increases, the per capita income also increases. But we have to consider if there is sufficient demand for the goods to be manufactured. No country can develop a large export trade in these times without a proper background of a substantial internal market. Even at present, a severe limit is placed on the industrial expansion by the extraordinary narrow margin of purchasing power left in the hands of the rural population, with their primitive methods of agriculture, vicious system of rural finance, archaic system of land tenure, etc. We must also strike a balance

between large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries so that we can develop a balance economy.

Thus, we find that there is the meaning for us to be poor where we have good natural resources. Nature has been very kind to us and it is the human factor which has failed to take advantage of the opportunities. It is really unfortunate that in this world of managed currencies, depreciated standards and tariff walls, India alone, till recently, remained a doctrinaire adherent to a policy of free trade. It is good that everywhere is a talk of construction and reconstruction and several plans are put forward as the panacea for the economic ills of the country. The plans are bewildering in their variety and surprising in numbers. While some of them do not consider the living conditions of the masses, the others lack sanction behind them. The sooner we evolve a comprehensive plan, the better it is for the country.

TATA-BIRLA PLAN EXAMINED

When the Government of India was still discussing several preliminary issues for post-war construction, the industrialists of the country presented for the first time a concrete plan for the much needed economic development. The sponsors of this plan—Bombay Plan, as it is now called,—lay great emphasis on the rapid industrialisation of the coun-

try as a panacea for India's poverty and distress. The plan aims at a threefold increase of our national income in the course of 15 years from 2200 crores to 6600 crores. But, in view of the rapid increase of population, it will only mean a doubling of our national income.

One cannot but appreciate the idea of the development of basic industries at the bottom of the entire industrial structure of the country and the authors have done well in focussing attention on this important question.

National Income

But if we dive deep, we find that it can at best be called an industrialists' plan for the industrial development of the country. For example, so far as the per capita income of the people is concerned, they depend upon the calculation of Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao who says that it is Rs. 65 per annum. But this figure cannot be taken on its face value. If we just consider the actual share, we find that it is so unequally distributed that 1% of the population monopolises 33% of our national income, 33% enjoy 33% of the national income while the remaining 66% of the population have to be content with the remaining 34%. Thus, it is truly said that the statistical calculation of national income based upon average hardly gives us the idea of the quantum of economic

welfare. In fact, we have to consider the real economic welfare of the masses.

Problem of Distribution

The problem of distribution has not been considered fully by the plan. Economic welfare, after all, involves the integration of the entire life of the people. It is easy to realise that distribution if uncontrolled and unplanned brings about the accumulation of poverty at one end and riches at the other end. That is why it is said that a plan which ignores the fundamental aspect of economic life can hardly be called a national plan. Planning, after all, is the process of a complete economic integration of the entire life of the community in which all aspects of economic life are judicially co-operated.

Control of Industry

We have to consider the problem of control of industry particularly at a time when the entire world is seriously considering the reshaping of society. Planning fundamentally involves complete and rigid control over some industries, state ownership of certain others; otherwise there is nothing to be planned and nothing to be co-ordinated. The economic history holds out sufficient evidence to

prove that with complete freedom to private enterprise, there is no orderly development as a whole. The efficacy of uncontrolled private enterprise cannot be left unquestioned.

There cannot be complacent ignorance of many-sided evils accruing to the society in the wake of un-co-ordinated and uncontrolled enterprise eventually working their way on the motive of profit. We cannot completely follow the laissez faire doctrine. Uncontrolled production in the long run means misery to the people. Unfortunately, the planners have not discussed this problem and postponed its consideration.

As regards industrialisation, it has already been pointed out in the first article in the series, that in view of the narrow purchasing power of the people, further industrialisation can't contribute usefully to the solution of our economic problem. We must also see that it does not contribute to a mere transfer of value from one section of the community to another. The large growing population of India cannot be absorbed by industrialisation. Further, we have to realise that the peasant is the client, customer and the ultimate market for industrial goods. Hands must have precedence over numbers and if human welfare is the criterion, and if industrialisation increases unemployment, it is no good.

Agriculture

Even so far as agriculture is concerned, we have to see that there is self-sufficiency in the matter of food production so as to ensure the bringing up of a healthy population. We have in this connection to examine the problem of land tenure, etc. The authors of the Bombay Plan have not laid much stress on this problem. There must be, indeed, socially planned agricultural production. A huge industrial development and a poor peasantry are, indeed, inconsistent in a planned society. We have to realise that the ultimate market for the goods produced is the peasant.

In the next chapter an attempt will be made to discuss the problem of the financing of the Bombay Plan.

FINANCE AND THE BOMBAY PLAN

It is well known that the authors of the Bombay Plan have calculated the capital cost at Rs. 10,000 crores. They, of course, depend upon the sterling securities, which will really be anas set if they could be made available at a time and in a manner as may be decided by the country.

When the authors hit upon the device of created money to the extent of 3400 crores to finance

their 15-year plan, one is compelled to be analytical. Created money is nothing but another name for inflation pure and simple, the effects of which we are all experiencing in the shape of rocketting prices. If notes are to be printed for financing the plan, the masses of our people will find their real income will not increase with the expanse of currency and consequent rise in prices. Created money will, of course, be converted into capital for industry but this is not a sound way of building up capital. They propose to build this structure by asking the people to cut down their consumption to the minimum, till out of this saving is raised a capital of 3400 crores.

The authors say that expansion of currency will not lead to inflation, high prices and the like because production will be continuously expanded. There is a fallacy here because new goods do not enter the market the moment additional currency appears out of the mint. There is always a time lag. In the meanwhile as more notes are being printed and goods do not become available, and as this expansion takes year after year, the fifteen years of the plan will be years of continuous inflation.

Any student of economics will realise that for changing the entire economic life of the country, great sacrifice and efforts are needed. But the

essential point is that these sufferings and burdens have to be distributed in an equitable manner according to their capacity. There are more equitable methods of tightening the belt and releasing the capital for production, *e.g.*, cutting down profits to the minimum, doing away with luxuries, and the like. National planning has to be based upon common sacrifice, equitably borne.

We have therefore to consider the situation which has occasioned the need for planning and face the facts of the disease. Prof. Hill in the course of a recent statement observed that the mortality in India is four to five times larger than in Great Britain and the average expectation of life in India is about 26 years while in England it is 62. Many of the people are underfed. Diseases take away a large toll of the population. If we want to ameliorate the condition of the masses the co-operation of all the sections is necessary.

Our teeming millions are indeed a challenge to our mental, moral and material resources. It is hoped that public opinion will assert itself. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty.'

PLANNING IN INDIAN STATES

It is a good sign of the times that Indian States

are taking a lively interest in the economic development of the people. It is rather unfortunate that there is a good deal of misunderstanding regarding these regions and we can no longer say that they are (at least some of them) backward. They have indeed taken definite steps for improving the economic life of the people. Till now Economists were not studying the developments of the States and this line of study is in need of much greater attention than what it has received in the past. We have also to see how far Indian India and British India can march in unison right from now.

Mysore, Baroda, Travancore and Hyderabad can all be classified as progressive states. The latest Baroda Administration Report (1942-43) deals with every aspect of the life of the State and especially with finance, land revenue, agriculture, co-operation, commerce and industries. One can easily say that this publication is a store-house of first-hand information which deals with the all round progress made by the State. Mysore also is following a progressive policy in the direction of the resuscitation of cottage industries while the Government of Travancore has taken practical steps in this direction. To give an example, the Government have banned the rice mills and thereby given a fillip to paddy husking as a cottage industry.

Progress of Hyderabad

The State of Hyderabad is 83,000 sq. miles in area with a population of 144 lakhs of whom only 16 lakhs live in towns. The occupation of the people is predominantly agricultural and 57% of the people depend upon it. The industrial establishment in the State has been very rapid and there are 80 large industrial establishments in the State. The State is indeed self sufficient in so far as several of its requirements are concerned. Labour legislation is indeed progressive though of course there is a need for making it more up to date in the light of recent advances in India and abroad.

The progress made by the State are detailed in a booklet entitled *Some Aspects of Hyderabad* issued by the Government. The Statistical Year Book (latest is for 1940) gives a thorough idea of the economic conditions of the State. One of course feels its unlikely increase if there should be more analytical discussion. Again " A Selection of Press Notes and Communiques " issued by the Government in 1942 and the latest Administration Report for 1350 Fasli give us an idea of the " wide range of the Government's nation-building programme and policies pursued by them on various questions of public importance." The section on ' questions of Economic Interest ' in the former will be of much use to those who want to have an idea of

the economic development of the State. Another book *Rural Industries in Hyderabad* deals with the praiseworthy efforts of the Government in the direction of rural reconstruction. The aim of rural reconstruction is rightly described thus: "The elaborate machinery set up to cope with the modern requirements of the countryside is a measure of the realisation by the authorities that the prosperity of a State lies in its green fields rather than in its stately edifices and in a contented peasantry rather than in its patrician ranks." The various reconstruction societies are doing useful work while agriculture is developed at the same time. Cottage industries also are developed. A perusal of this book shows that the State of Hyderabad is far more progressive in these directions than some of the British Indian provinces.

The useful monthly publication *Hyderabad Information*, published in English and all the vernaculars of the State gives us an idea of the important current developments. It is really a pity that all such highly informative literature is neglected, even though it can be made to yield valuable results. After all Indian States are a part and parcel of the body politic of the country and the great strides that are being made in these States deserve to be emulated. That is but necessary when we accept the view that planning must be for the whole country.

The *Hyderabad Information* for September 1944 gives us an idea of the Ten-Year Programme for the economic development of that State. The Government proposes to spend 232 crores during the first 10 years. It is stated that schemes estimated to cost Rs. 95 crores have already been prepared while others are all under way. We often say that money is only a means and no plan should be given up on account of the cost involved. As the *Hyderabad Information* rightly observes, "no progress will be possible if old and antiquated methods of finance are followed . . . planned economy implies sacrifice and entails interference with established habits and customs. It will also mean tapping new sources of revenue." The Hyderabad Plan makes provision for agricultural development, industrial development, power, medical relief, education, improved banking facilities, etc., and in fact they relate to all aspects of planning. The Government have appreciated the important part cottage industries play in ordering the economic development of the State and in fact an Economic Adviser has been appointed to suggest ways and means of resuscitating them. Thus, we can see that the problem has been approached in the right way and can easily say that the Government of His Exalted Highness will be able to do much to increase the standard of living of the people. These details have been given to give an idea of what a progressive State can do for the econo-

mic development of the subjects and very soon there will usher in " a new era of general prosperity and economic well-being for all sections of the people." Rajkot State also has taken a lead in the matter. His Highness the Thakore Sahib very recently appointed a post-war reconstruction committee to make recommendations for the development of an Industrial city in commemoration of Sir Lakajiraj and suggest measures for the economic development of the State. It is hoped that with the able guidance of Shri Bane Singhji, M.A. (Cantab) the present Diwan, much can be done in the matter.

THE GANDHIAN PLAN

The plan which has been prepared by Principal Agarwal is indeed based upon the living conditions of the people. Readers of the publications of the All-India Village Industries Association and particularly the brochure. " Gandhian Approach to Planned Economy " by Shri J. C. Kumarappa will be aware of the fact that since a number of years, Shri Kumarappa, as the chief lieutenant of Gandhiji, was expounding the need for such a plan. The public must be grateful to Principal Agarwal for giving them the benefit of a connected idea of Gandhian ideals on planning. They are indeed practicable and fit with the real conditions of the people.

Salient Features

The important features of the plan are: (1) The village community system should be brought back and villages must be made self-sufficient. This is one of the main planks of the constructive programme of Gandhiji and ideals for which Mr. T. Prakasam, the ex-Revenue Minister of the Madras Province strived and succeeded in a few model villages. Unfortunately his scheme could not be put through. Planning must, therefore, be from the bottom upwards and not from the top downwards. (2) The standard of living of the masses is proposed to be increased within ten years. The per capita income of those living in rural areas is estimated at Rs. 18 (Shri Kumarappa estimated it at Rs. 14) per year and it is proposed to increase it to Rs. 72 to cover the minimum necessaries of life. (3) Agriculture is given a place of honour. Problems of land revenue, rent, etc. are discussed. (4) The need for the development of subsidiary industries is also emphasised. (5) Cottage industries are to be resuscitated. One cannot do better than to refer to the C.P. Industrial Survey Committee Report as regards the cottage industries that can be resuscitated with advantage. The Report rightly holds the view that cottage and village industries have a definite unchallengeable place in the economy of a nation and more especially in that of our country. (6) Key industries must be owned and managed by the State.

Other problems like distribution, banking, etc. have not been left out. Regarding large-scale and key industries the Report observes that since the risks and expenses are spread over the nation, such industries must be run by the State or under the close control of the State. (7) Decentralisation has been stressed. As Shri Kumarappa once said, " Decentralisation of production and Swadeshism in consumption are the *sine qua non* of the economic development of the country. (8) The non-recurring expenditure estimated at 3,500 crores spread over 10 years is proposed to be met by internal borrowing. Created money is nothing but another name for inflation and it is better not to have recourse to this method. The recurring expenditure of 200 crores can easily be met from State revenues. (9) The need for the establishment of a National Government is emphasised.

Conclusion

We can easily see that the targets hit are not very high and in fact cannot afford to be too high when ours is a poor country. In India we have abundant labour force which has to be given gainful occupation. After all economic planning is for the masses and not for the classes. We have paucity of capital and not labour. Labour-saving devices were a matter of vital necessity in the case of the West. We

should not try to ape the West and copy their ideals Economic planning must indeed be based upon our needs. We have to realise the situation which has occasioned the need for planning and face the facts of the disease. Our teeming millions are indeed a challenge to our mental, moral and material resources. Much depends upon how we meet the challenge instead of frittering away our energies in endless talks. Humanity never does anything except under compulsion, and it is a good thing that with the conditions created by the War, we have realised what it is to be self-sufficient.

CHAPTER II

Our Standard of Living

It is often said that if we want to improve the economic life of the country, we must raise the standard of living of our masses. It is unfortunate that many plans do not really take into consideration the real living conditions of the people and even if some consider them they lack sanction behind them. In order to appreciate clearly our economic problems, we must have an idea of our standard of living which means provision of sufficient food and nourishment as well as necessaries of life and work and social amenities like public health, education which between them make up a reasonable standard of civilized life. In this contribution, an attempt will be made to show how our standard of living leaves much improvement so that we will be able to plan accordingly.

The ultimate objective of economic planning is the increase in the volume of production to the fullest possible extent so that we can secure a general standrad of living which would leave a reasonable margin over the minimum requirements of human

life. We should have an idea of the minimum requirements of human life. Under the existing conditions, these include food, clothing and shelter, besides medical relief and education. We shall first consider how in all these aspects our conditions are not satisfactory. Our young men and women must acquire a deep understanding of the problems that are facing us and which require of course great imaginative leadership.

The standard of life of the people is generally assessed by its per capita income. Even though these figures are rough estimates still they give us an idea of our economic conditions and therefore we may just consider our per capita income in relation to others. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has come to the conclusion that the per capita income in this country comes to about Rs. 62. It does not mean that every individual gets this amount. It ignores the acute inequality of income that prevails in this country. For example, the Central Provinces Government after conducting a survey of 600 villages under the chairmanship of Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha, came to the conclusion that the income in rural areas cannot be more than 14 rupees. This low income indicates lack of employment and low standard of living. Comparative figures of per capita income in 1931 for certain countries are

given below so as to show the disparity between India and other countries.

United States	*Canada*	*Australia*
1406	1038	792

France	*Germany*	*Japan*	*British India*
621	603	218	65

Even this income is unevenly distributed. As Prof. K. T. Shah says one per cent of the population owns 35% of the total wealth, 32% of the total population owns 33% and the remaining 67% has to be content with 32% of the total wealth. The great defect in India's economic structure is the uneven distribution of the national dividend among the various classes of the population. It will be interesting to note that Prof. Pigou says that even in such a country like England with a high national income, it is not possible to provide for all its citizens a really high standard of living. If this is so, in a country like England with a per capita income, 15 times as large as ours, no words are needed to show the unsatisfactory economic conditions and the low standard of living of our masses.

Even considering the question of food supply, we find that we do not have sufficient supplies of food. It is often said that the consumption of basic commodities by the people gives us an index of our

standard of living. Sir John Magaw who was for some time the Director-General of Public Health with the Government of India came to the conclusion that 60% of our people are either badly or poorly nourished. Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee has come to the conclusion that there is food shortage for 63 millions. Dr. Aykroyd in the course of an article contributed to the Indian Journal of Social Work observes: "The majority of the people lives on a diet far remote from the most moderate standards of adequate nutrition. A very large increase in the production of various foods is necessary to raise existing standard to a satisfactory level." He also observes that there should be an increase of cereals by 30%, pulses by 100% milk and milk products by 300 to 400% meat, fish and eggs by several hundred per cent, vegetables 100%. With the grim spectacle of the Bengal famine behind us and with the recommendations of the Famine Commission still fresh in our minds, it requires no argument to show that the per capita availability of food supplies even in normal times was very low. Further to secure a balanced diet for our population, it is not enough if we increase our food production. We must also increase the purchasing power of the masses.

Similarly even if we take into consideration the diet of our people, it is deficient in vitamins and

proteins. Nutrition experts suggest that we should take more milk, which is said to be a complete food. Here again on an average the per capita consumption comes to 7 ozs. per day whereas in New Zealand, it is 56 ozs., United States 35, and Great Britain 39.

The same story should be repeated when we consider the consumption of foods, vegetables and sugar.

Clothing.

Even so far as clothing is concerned, whereas in the United States people consume on an average 64 yards per annum and in Great Britain 35 yards, Japan 21 yards. In India, we consume only 16 yards. It is really pitiable that India the home of the cotton textile industry which enjoyed world-wide reputation long before the West knew about it cannot clothe her teeming millions. It has required the grim spectacle of two wars to make India nearly self-sufficient in her clothing requirements. Even as it is, our standard of consumption is very low and the figure 16 includes even the rich people. The real figure for the masses can easily be imagined. Gandhiji may be a half-naked *fakir* but his loin cloth is indeed a protest against the sub-human living of our teeming millions.

Considering the question of housing conditions

which provide an index of the standard of living of the people of a country, we find that even here our conditions are deplorable. It is observed that 74% of the 'population of Bombay lives in one-room tenements. It is said that every 6th person in the city lives in conditions of over-crowding which are prohibited even by the existing law. Adequate shelter against sun and rain and against the inclemencies of weather is the essential primary need of human life. It becomes all the more significant when we realize that the house is also a centre of complicated social ritual. The Bombay Plan observes that the average floor space per person in industrial areas was 27 sq. feet in Bombay and 24 in Sholapur in 1938. It clearly shows that there is a lot of over-crowding. The problem has also got its important aspect to be considered. For example, there is a great relation between death-rate and housing conditions, in other words, the greater the crowding, the higher the death-rate. That is why whereas in Canada the birth and death-rate per thousand is 20 and 10 respectively and infant mortality under one year per thousand live-births 61 and expectation of life nearly 60 years, and in the United Kingdom they are 15·3; 12·2, 53 and 60, in India, the birth-rate is as high as 33 per thousand and death-rate 21 per thousand and infant mortality 167 per thousand and it is no wonder the average expectation of life in India is as low as 26 years.

Even considering the needs of public health, we find that medical facilities need much improvement. The average population served by each hospital and dispensary works out to about 41 thousand and the proportion of population per head is 4000. We have one doctor per 9000 persons and one nurse for 86000 persons, whereas in England we have one doctor for 776 persons and one nurse for 435 persons.

It is often said that the tragedy of deaths in India is a social crime because many of them can be avoided by adequate nutrition and proper medical attention. Our low standard of living which has almost become a catch-phrase even among economists, pushes up our death-rate and shortens our span of life. Again malaria, it is stated, is responsible for 10 lacs deaths. Further its after effects are more serious than are generally realised. So far as disease and death covered by tuberculosis, typhoid, small-pox and cholera are concerned, the book *Health of India* by Mr. G. B. Grant clearly shows that we lead Asia only in disease and deaths.

So far as the standard of literacy is concerned, nearly 90% of our people are illiterate. We spend only 8 annas per head on education, whereas before the war the Government of Great Britain was spending 33 rupees per head per annum. Further there is much of stagnation and our system of educa-

tion is not related to the needs of the people. In Russia in 1914-15, there were 1953 secondary schools with 42803 teachers and 635591 pupils, and by economic planning in 1939, they could have 19810 secondary schools with 377337 teachers and 10834612 pupils. We can follow the Russian methods so far as our educational system is concerned even though we may have our ideological differences with Russia.

Conclusion.

Thus we find that in every sphere we have a low standard of living and it affects us in every sphere. It is often said that India is rich but Indians poor. Nature has conferred lavishly its gifts but it is the human factor which has failed to take advantage of them. Unless we try our best to improve the standard of living of our masses, and take them out and provide security from hunger, squalor and death, no amount of tall talk about planning will help us. Let the young men and women realise that we have to build the India of to-morrow on firm foundations and it is hoped that very soon an economic plan for the country will be evolved which of course requires some sacrifice on the part of vested interests. Such a plan can be impleted only by a national Government which has got the backing of the people. As His Excellency the Viceroy has rightly observed

in the course of an address delivered to the Central Legislature, our great aim must be to plan for economic and social development so as to raise our standard of living and general welfare. We must lift the poor man of India from poverty to security; from ill-health to vigour; from ignorance to understanding; and our rate of progress must no longer be at bullock-cart's standard but at least the pace of the handy and serviceable jeep.

CHAPTER III

Food Planning

What promises to be a nutritional blue-print for India is now slowly taking shape under the ægis of the planning section of the food department and let us hope that very soon, the people will not only be provided with minimum subsistence but also the right type of food according to nutritional standards. Here is an analysis of the problem where some suggestions on food-planning in the years immediately after the war are given.

The cries of food that we hear around us, we must remember, is not a problem created because of the war. Even during the years of peace that preceded the war, food was a problem for us. It is unfortunate that we have begun to realise that our food position is perilously inadequate only after the bitter experiences of the Bengal Famine and launched on a food production drive only under that stimulus. The Gregory Committee rightly observed: "taking an average of years, she may broadly be described as one slightly less than self-sufficient in foodgrains as a whole, neverthe-

less, the self-sufficiency implied by this statement at the very best is self-sufficiency at a very low level of per capita consumption. We have it on the authority of the highest nutritional expert in this country, Dr. Aykroyd, that there is at all times serious under-nourishment of some third of the population."

Some Figures

The various official and non-official investigations have shown that a large section of India's population has always lived on the starvation level. It is true we are confronted by the absence of reliable statistics particularly relating to agricultural production in India. But the available figures are enough to reveal a distressing situation. That is why Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee rightly says: "India is to-day deficient in her food supply for about 63 million persons." Taking British India, the index number of variation of population and production of foodgrains are as under :

	1930-31	1940-41
Population	100	115
Food	100	93

The deficit economy of India has therefore become a stock phrase even among economists. Even qualitatively speaking, food-stuffs containing an assured supply of proteins are not developed. The food

that we take should contain sufficient proteins for body-building, minerals for improving our blood and vitamins for ensuring growth besides others. Food in short should be balanced and sufficient. Considering the situation in India, one should say that the use of cereals in our dietary reveals our poverty. There is absolutely little use of protective food such as milk, fruits, vegetables etc. It is no wonder the worst sufferers are children, expectant and nursing mothers called the 'vulnerable groups'. Nutrition experts observe that an individual requires 10 ozs. of vegetables and foods every day to have an adequate supply of vitamins and mineral salts. The point is how is it possible when the total area under cultivation of vegetables and fruits is hardly 2 per cent of the total area. Similarly the per capita consumption of milk is 7 ozs. per day whereas it is 35 in Holland and 53 in New Zealand. There is a certain amount of truth in the saying that the use of less nutritional cereals, low intake of protective foods, milk and milk-products make our diet ill-balanced. Let us remember that we have to reckon with not only the chronic shortage but also the price which is beyond the reach of the masses. The food situation one should say is unsatisfactory and a nation-wide food-campaign would have been appropriate in 1938. Better late than never; it is appropriate even now. In this connection, let us remember that, according to Sir John Magaw, 39% of

our population are adequately nourished, 41% badly nourished and 20% poorly nourished.

Objectives of Food Planning

To sum up, the objectives of food-planning should be :

1. Achieving a certain amount of self-sufficiency in the matter of food-supply.

2. Raising the purchasing power of masses so that everyone can be assured adequate and balanced diet.

3. Securing of balanced diet for the people. One can say that in matters like these, we can follow the Tennessee Valley Authority example. In fact we can bring more land under cultivation of food crops, we can increase the yield by the development of irrigation facilities, we can grow better varieties of crops by using better manure, better methods, etc. All these can be achieved only during the long period. Now that the United Nations have liberated the various countries, there will be further pressure on our food resources. As Mr. Churchill observed, " nothing is more clear than that when the war is over the world will fall on an acute shortage of food for several years."

Planning in Short Period

With the appointment of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao as officer on special duty for the purposes of conducting enquiries and for making proposals for food-planning in the short period to begin with, one can reasonably expect that the Government will do something in the matter. The few years following the war may be considered to be the short period, when imports are not restored to normal, transport situation still remains difficult, and supplies inadequate and food controls continue to exist in some form or other. It is reported that Dr. Rao will be touring the country on a country-wide investigation of nutritional needs, conditions and resources and also possibilities which will no doubt serve a useful purpose. The objective of this enquiry is said to be threefold :

1. How to bring about a rapid improvement in the feeding of the people by a rational and planned policy regarding utilization of foodgrains.

2. An examination of the reasons of undernourishment and deficient diet ; and

3. Better food production through organization of production and equitable distribution.

In the short period the remedial measures will have to be more on the side of distribution, pro-

paganda and education than production except in some cases where it is possible to increase production. The importance of distribution and educational measures in food plan in the short period need not be over-emphasized.

Some Suggestions

The enquiry, it is hoped, will consider the effects of food difficulties on the standard of consumption and what type of foods can be increased during the short period. Information will no doubt have to be collected from community-feeding centres, hotels, etc., so that we will be able to find the incidents of war on the diet of the various groups. This also involves the conduct of food-budget enquiries which means co-operation of a number of agencies. Suffice it to say that if we really consider the nutritional needs of the people, we should encourage the use of hand-pounded rice which is not only nutritious but also adds to the food supply by 10%. The use of wheat-flour of 80% extraction has been officially ordered in England. We can adopt such methods in India with advantage. If we encourage oil pressing as a cottage industry, oil-cake can easily be used for the cattle in villages which means more yield in milk. These are things in which direction the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha, under the presidentship of Gandhiji has been trying to influence public opinion.

The Eastern Economist rightly suggests two methods :

1. Legislation by which some areas may be compelled to put certain proportion of their holdings under food-crops ; and

2. In which case, the farmers compelled to grow more food crops should be guaranteed fair minimum price.

Manures and fertilizers may be supplied at concession rates and several other facilities like lower water rates may also be given. The principal rice-eating tracts should take to the use of wheat. We must try to bring about a change in the consumptive habits of the people. Midday meals should be supplied to school children at concession rates. Children and expectant mothers should be supplied with milk at concession rates. There should be a gradual improvement in the national dietary until it comes to the normal. Minimum standard of nutrition is one with which the sociologist and the economist will have to grapple as best as they can in the near future, in which the co-operation of the dietician is indispensable. Let us remember that all these will be useless unless we give the necessary purchasing power to the masses That is why it is rightly said that a food plan in the short and the long period should form part of a wider plan of economic development which will ensure equal avenues of employment for one and all.

CHAPTER IV

Population and Planning

It is only recently that we have become conscious of the population problem. Just as we have gross international maldistribution of wealth, there is also its counterpart in the gross maldistribution of the world's population. As rich are becoming richer and poor poorer, over-populated countries are finding their population steadily increasing while under-populated countries are finding their population steadily declining. It is really a paradox that in richer countries inducements are given to parents to rear larger families. In poor countries, there is feeling that even in case we plan for the economic development of India, all our efforts will be nullified by the rapidly increasing population.

We have now come to realise that the country's population also has to be planned and population planning is the *sin qua non* of economic planning. The international bearings of the population problem have been studied by the Princeton Office of population research and the American academy of political

and social sciences. They reveal that the world's population has quadrupled itself during the last 3 centuries from 500 million to over 2,000 million. On account of the industrial revolution, there has been a spectacular growth of population in the 19th century but now it has slowed down and this increase is now to be seen in the Asiatic countries.

Some Misconceptions

In the meanwhile, several people have come to say that rapid growth of over-population is the cause of our economic maladies. Sir Jeremy Raisman holds the view that the regulation of Indian population is far more important than planning the economic development of India. People of this view begin to argue that for the next ten years, we should concentrate our attention on birth control. In all these matters, we must remember that even though population planning will determine the results of all other kinds of planning, still it is difficult to control the increase of population in the immediate future. Taking Sir Jeremy at his word, one wonders if houses are not to be built at all because the number in the family may increase by the time the house is built. That is why provision is made in all plants for the increase of population during the period of planning itself.

He paints a very dismal picture and the following table shows how our increase has not been unusual :

Percentage of increase of population during 1881-1931.

	Per cent
England & Wales	50
Holland	90
Japan	74
U. S. A.	196
India	35

But here one point may be mentioned, namely, that in India the birth rate and death rate are the highest in the world. Rational control of births is certainly necessary but to pose it as the problem that demands priority is to " ignore the effect of a higher standard of living on the growth of population." After all population problem has to be considered in the background problems like health, nutrition, etc. We have no doubt that one of the essential parts of the national planning is population planning.

Magnitude of the Problem

The magnitude and nature of the problem can best be appreciated when we refer to the growth of population, or ' Population Pressure', as it is called in recent

years. A study of the problem shows that the growth of population has been faster than that of the food supply. There has been a consequent reduction in the per capita area of the food crops. Since the nineties of the last century our population has been tremendously on the increase.

The table given below gives the movements of the population in India from 1881 to 1941 :

1881	254	Millions	Variation percentage since the last census. Nominal increase.
1891	287	,,	13.2
1901	294	,,	20.5
1911	315	,,	7
1921	319	,,	1
1931	352	,,	11
1941	389	,,	15

At this rate, by the time the next census is taken, our population may reach 450 millions.

Need for an Adequate Population Policy

That is why it is rightly said that an adequate population policy consistent with our food supply must necessarily form an adjunct to an adequate economic plan for the country. Truly, a ' population policy and

economic plan can only be looked upon as an integral part of the comprehensive socio-economic planning.' The Bombay Plan has, indeed, made provision for increase of the population and that is why the authors observed that a trebling of the national income would really mean no more than doubling capita-income. They, of course, made provision for all amenities of life so that the death rate may be reduced, but the real problem is the birth rate. If we do not consider these factors, our economic plan would stand in peril of being wrecked. Our birth rate is about 48 per thousand. If national minimum is assured by the social security plans, etc., the masses will have better food, clothing, and shelter, and the rate of mortality may go down to perhaps 15 per thousand. True, the birth rate will tend to fall, but only after a time lag, *viz.*, after the masses reap the results of education, etc. The survival rate may therefore increase to 30 per thousand. Instead of having an increase of 5 millions per annum we may have an increase of even 20 millions per year. We have, therefore, to make provision for this population pressure and device a concomitant population policy so that our economic plan may not stand the peril of being wrecked. Let not the present writer be misunderstood to have referred to an acute Malthusian situation prevailing in the country; what is emphasised here is the need for planning for our population growth in such a way that

every one will have two square meals per day. In the interest of social economy and national planning, family planning and limitation of members is necessary and the State should adopt a policy to encourage these. A moral eugenic programme, raising of the marriage age, maintenance of vital statistics and carrying out of periodic demographic surveys are suggested. Appropriate machinery should be devised for the purpose. A national register of our population is also necessary. People should be allowed to migrate from more populated to less populated territories.

Family Limitation

Under the circumstances, we have to realise that men cannot be bred like animals, nor can we conduct laboratory experiments with population. There must, indeed, be that social consciousness which can understand the essentials of the situation and devise ways and means of dealing with it from the point of view of national well-being. It is therefore suggested that 'an educational campaign to counteract social and religious taboos which prevent family limitation should be recognised as an essential part of the efforts to raise living standards in regions where over-population threatens. Whereas in England 76 per cent of the population is literate, in India only 9·5 is literate; unless people are literate no amount of instruction on

birth control will be of any help. The quicker comprehensive educational plan is put through, the greater are the chances of population planning.

In an article contributed to " Harper's Magazine," Mr. John Fischer, former representative of the U. S. Foreign Administration in India, gives an account of 'India's insoluble hunger.' Its glooming forebodings seem refreshingly candid but his attitude is however nothing short of despair. One thing must be admitted by the gloomy prophets, that it is only Indians that can take a proper view of the problem and deal with it adequately. The tragedy of India really is that we do not know what we can do for ourselves. Nobody can however deny that the population problem is a basic problem.

Several people however say that it would be foolish to urge a national policy of birth control for India, to raise our economic production and increase national income without first considering our economic resources and possibilities. It is pointed out in the League of Nations pamphlet, *The Future Population of Europe and Soviet Union*, that the reproduction rate in the U.S.S.R., if maintained, would result in an increase of more than 60 per cent per generation. The Soviet Government not only desire to maintain the rate but under a recent law, steps have been taken to encourage motherhood. Fischer would say that India is not

Russia. Determined planning and a radical overhaul of the social structure have made increased living standards and put no check on population growth in Russia. It is claimed that a developed Indian economy would result in voluntary birth control. The sovereign remedy, therefore, is education. With more education may come a sense of population control. That is why we have to say 'plan or perish.' It is also argued that even though we may say that there is substantial growth rate in the population, there are some who say that quantitative predictions on the basis of crude birth and death rates are not possible and that there are signs that fertility is falling rapidly due to changing age composition, rising age at marriage, etc.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that there are weighty reasons for an energetic population policy as an essential adjunct of any economic plan. This is no doubt a new ground for organised social action. The Government of India recently appointed a committee to enquire into our population problem and let us hope they will make useful recommendations. It is, of course, true that if we plan our social life, many of our problems will be solved. For example, with the rise of literacy and improved standard of living, the age of marriage goes up, and population naturally increases at a slower rate.

CHAPTER V

Cloth Planning for 400 Millions

" For India cotton manufacture is an ancient glory, past and present tribulation but always hope," said Buchanan.

The sub-human standard of living of the Indian masses has almost become a by-word. Food clothing and shelter are absolute necessaries but unfortunately in all these matters our conditions are far from being satisfactory. In spite of the fact that India is one of the leading countries of the world in the cotton industry ranking first in the number of spindles and second in raw cotton production, it is really unfortunate that we have not got sufficient cloth. The following statistics taken from the League of Nations publication " World Textile Industry " shows the quantity of cloth consumed in India when compared to other countries.

Consumption of Cotton Cloth per Head

U. S. A.	...	64 sq. yds.
Great Britain	...	35 sq. yds.
Japan	...	21 linear yds.
India	...	16 linear yds.

This state of affairs is really pitiable particularly because India is the home of the cotton textile industry which enjoyed world-wide reputation long before the West knew about it. The Indian textile industry has passed through various vicissitudes. That is why several even refer to the thwarted growth of our national industry. The situation was indeed so pitiable that before the first European War of 1914-18, India consumed about 4000 million yds. of which she produced only 25 per cent, rest being imported. It has required the grim spectacle of two wars to make India nearly self-sufficient, so far as her clothing requirements are concerned.

In 1928-29 when the per capita consumption of cloth in the world was 42 yds. the figure for India was 16, which persisted to be the same and the war years have no doubt seen a fall. Allowing for the defence requirements and exports, the per capita consumption between 1941-42 and 1943-44 varied from 12 to 13 yds.

In 1943-44, 4842 million yds. of cloth were produced by mills and 1500 million yds. were produced by hand-looms. Deducting the requirements of the defence services and cloth exported, we had five thousand million yds. per annum for a population of 400 millions which comes to a per capita consumption of 12 yds. We must also remember that this includes the consumption of rich people and the real figure can easily be imagined.

According to any standard it is insufficient to keep the population properly clothed. Gandhiji may be a half-naked fakir but his loin-cloth is really a protest against the sub-human living of the teeming millions of India. The Bombay Plan proposes 30 yds. per head per annum as the target. Even if we are not able to reach that figure, it should be increased to at least 18. Further we must remember that we have to make provision for the increasing population of India. Thus, more than ever before there is a great need to expand our production in order to ensure an adequate supply of cloth. That is why many people are considering the question in all seriousness and therefore putting the question : "Can post-war India clothe herself ?"

The Problem of Exports

Many people say that we should depend upon exports also because cotton manufacturers satisfy all the requirements of a desirable commodity for export. They even say that if we produce for the internal as well as external markets the risk element is reduced to the minimum. During war we have supplied cotton cloth to South Africa, Australia, Iran, Iraq and other countries and it is but natural that we expect to retain some of these markets. It may of course be pointed out that our capacity to retain these markets depends upon our output, quality, price, etc. It also requires an

efficient export policy which we can have only when there is a national government. But those who argue in this way forget one fact, namely the international economic order of the future with intensified competition on the part of western industrialized countries which have already stolen a march over us would seem to offer no possibilities for the expansion of our goods to foreign markets. Further the industry can safely depend upon internal market and the first effects of the economic development of the country would be perfectly seen in the new demand for cloth. It is often said that cloth will be the first to feel the impact of a rise in the standard of living.

Some Handicaps

We have sufficient supplies of raw cotton and labour. But we must remember that increased production depends upon the supply of new machinery, chemicals and coal. Now that the war is over, we may not experience much difficulty as regards chemicals and coal but the supply of new machinery is the only factor which we have to consider. But it presents insurmountable difficulties and the industrial delegation which recently visited England and America itself observes that the prospects of imports of textile machinery for at least two years to come are not bright. By that time the foreign goods may be dumped on our markets.

We must remember that much of the machinery has got to be replaced because the machinery has been overworked due to the exigencies created by the war. It is stated that for replacement of worn-out machinery and increase of production to ensure 18 yds. of cloth per head per annum we require six million spindles and two lacs of looms. We must remember that the situation can be solved only when new plants are set up so that we can have adequate supply of machinery. But since it takes a lot of time, it would be in the fitness of things if the Government will see that we get an adequate quota of machinery. Since the various controls are in force, only the Government can negotiate in the matter. Further, a warning may also be given. It is no use mortgaging our efficiency by purchasing reconditioned second-hand machinery Only wrong prophets pin their faith in second-hand things.

Another difficulty or bottleneck is the question of organization and marketing. Even though a few Ahmedabad mills have shown good progress in the matter it is regrettable that other mills have not realised the supreme need for organization and marketing.

Many people refer to the lack of capital accumulation and say that the heavy incidence of the excess profits tax, low amount allowed for depreciation while

considering income-tax rules are coming in the way. It would be in the fitness of things if the Government appoints a special panel to consider the post-war renovation of this industry so that it can put its house in order.

The Problem of the Hand-loom Industry

The high standard of excellence reached by hand-loom weaving which is the largest of small-scale industries giving employment to six million people as compared to 1/10th of the number employed by the cotton textile industry makes us feel that it has got to be supported. It is of course true that the total production is not so large as indicated by the numbers employed. While considering the causes of the present cloth famine, the point is often made out that the situation would have improved if the hand-loom weavers were supplied with adequate supplies of yarn by the mills, but this is disputed by the Mill-owners' Association, Bombay, while it is not the place to ascribe praise or blame one feels that because the hand-loom weaver depends upon this industry and since it serves as an occupation subsidiary to agriculture we have to develop it. He has managed to survive all these years and we should do everything to help him. Further the present writer feels that the hand-loom weaver should depend more and more upon hand-spun yarn.

At a time when we are having an acute shortage of mill-cloth, we have realised the economic utility of hand-spinning. Gandhiji and the All-India Spinners' Association have been emphasizing all along the need for developing hand-spinning industry which Pandit Jawaharlal hails as the "livery of our freedom." Mr. G. D. H. Cole in this connection says : " Gandhi's campaign for the development of home-made cloth industry, Khaddar, is no more fad of a romantic age to revive the past but a practical attempt to relieve the poverty and uplift the standard of the Indian village." It is hoped that we realize the great need to develop hand-spinning as a cottage industry. Hand-loom weavers should spin themselves and weave hand-spun yarn. This will naturally help us to give employment to the abundant labour force in India besides serving as an occupation subsidiary to agriculture.

Plans of the Textile Control Board

The Textile Control Board has recently prepared a plan for the expansion of the industry and proposed a target of 9,200 million yards. to be reached by 1950-51 made up of 7,200 million yds. from cotton mills and 2,000 from hand-looms. The Bombay Plan as we have seen proposes that production will have to be increased to 15 million yds. at the end of the next 15 years. The only thing is that we have to make provision for

increasing the purchasing power of the masses if there is to be increased demand for cloth. It means that economic planning is the *sine qua non* of increased consumption of cloth.

Conclusion

The stimulus afforded by the war to the Indian Textile industry is a fraction of what it can look forward in a growing economy. The per capita consumption of cloth in India is too small and there is an internal market of vast dimensions. Much depends upon the ability of the textile industry to serve the home market which is sure to expand with an increase in the purchasing power of the people. The textile industry must remember that it has risen to its present position by the sacrifice of the masses and let us hope that it will serve the masses when normal times return. Further it should not be allowed to compete with hand-loom weavers because they are not only weavers but also tillers of the soil. It is earnestly hoped that the whole industry will be planned so that post-war India can clothe herself and the various interests live in peace and harmony.

CHAPTER VI

Our Cottage Industries

It is often said, and rightly too, that the most obvious truths require to be dinned into the ears of the people and many of us refuse to think about such common truths. Till recently we used to consider progress synonymous with machinery but a time has come when we have to realise that economic activity cannot be conceived as having no bearing at all on the development of human personality or being unrelated to human ends. After all production of goods is for human consumption. While there are some who say industrialise or perish, we must remember that we should not ape the West, since in their case, labour-saving devices were an economic necessity. But in the case of India, we have abundant labour force, to whom we have to give gainful occupation.

Everyone seems to have persuaded himself that plan we must. Even though there must be a catch somewhere in all this, still one feels that planning has degenerated into catch phrases which may mean any

thing or everything or nothing. We must remember that we should all agree as regards the ends. We must judge every plan in terms of ultimate values 'which are often implicit rather than explicit.' All plans pay a bit of sympathy to small scale and cottage industries but do not offer tangible suggestions for their development. The Gandhian plan, of course, is an exception which rightly observes that our anxiety should be to secure avenues of gainful occupation to one and all. It is rightly argued that cottage industries should occupy a prominent place in any plan for India's economic development. The fundamentals of planning had never been set forth so lucidly and so appropriately as had been done by the original memorandum prepared by the National Planning Committee. Some of the fundamentals are (1) Relief of poverty by finding employment for the masses, (2) Equitable distribution of goods produced, and (3) Harmonising of various interests and planning on democratic lines. A National Economic plan should therefore aim at securing the welfare of the community as a whole, particularly the masses in the villages who constitute nearly 90% of the population and consequently form the backbone of the country.

The relative virtue of small scale and cottage industries are often discussed but it may at once be said that there is conflict between large scale and

small scale industries and the latter will really absorb the unemployed and the partially unemployed in the rural areas who are in a state of constant want, semi-starvation, economic unsecurity, etc. Industrial advance is generally associated with production on a large scale. But it does not necessarily bring about the total extinction of cottage industries. There are limits beyond which we cannot increase the scale of production. The Gandhian contribution to Indian economic thought is that cottage industries give a valuable chance for avoiding the evils of centralised methods of production and giving employment to the abundant labour force we have in India.

Why Cottage Industries have Declined ?

It is a pity that most of the cottage industries are in a state of decay and the production per worker has gone down. The reasons for the decline of cottage industries are not far to seek. The policy pursued by the East India Company, the competition of the machine-made products of foreign and Indian power-driven machinery, failure of the state to recognise that cottage industries are an integral part of the national economy, the loss of patronage from the better classes in India, largely due to the change of fashion, are some of the causes for their decline leading to absence of alternate occupation among agricul-

turists. That is why the masses are in the grip of under-employment and a low standard of living.

The National Planning Committee rightly observed that we may improve economic life of the masses by improving agriculture making provision for public utilities, etc. But all will, in the nature of things, take time to materialise. That is why "the revival and expansion of old and introduction of new cottage industries will be an important and the indispensable means of rehabilitating the villages and providing adequate and suitable employment to the people in the villages and ensuring them a satisfactory level of income and resources."

Should Cottage Industries Thrive?

There can indeed be no two opinions about one thing that cottage industries should thrive in the country. Small scale and cottage industries are providing employment for about 13 million persons. We must remember that small scale and cottage industries are mostly carried on in cottages and the great bulk of industrial production in the country is still of this category. Of the 15 million workers returned as industrial workers, only about 1½ millions are employed in factories. We cannot afford to throw away the employment now given to 13 million people. We may think of industrialising the country even in which case

we have to strike a balance between agriculture and industries. Small scale industries serve as occupations subsidiary to agriculture. Cottage industries further economise capital. We must remember that we have paucity of capital resources and not of labour in India They provide employment in the workers' own place and their decentralised character has several advantages. They offer opportunities for profitable employment and development of inherent skill, talents in occupations congenial to them. The aesthêtic claims of handicrafts are even more formidable, The handicrafts man, once the pride of India may again come to his own. Further, increasing employment to the rural masses leads to an increase in their purchasing power which at the present moment is confined to urban areas. Further, since they tend to distribute wealth, we have to support them on grounds of social welfare.

What Industries are to be Supported ?

The planning authority should consider the social and economic advantages of the methods of production and examine which of them will extend employment, raise the standard of living of the masses, and bring about an equitable distribution of our national income. Having taken these decisions we, have to take steps to safeguard them against machine

competition. The National Planning Committee has rightly suggested that "large scale mechanised industries which compete with those cottage and rural industries, which are specially selected by the State for support must be owned or controlled by the State so that there may be proper co-ordination between the two." Mechanised industries should not be allowed to compete with cottage industry products by marking out definite spheres for each. Some suggest that it is better for cottage industries to stick to products which call for variety and distinctiveness rather than produce ordinary consumption goods.

Difficulties of Cottage Industries

The question of cottage industries, therefore, calls for urgent attention. The weakness of cottage workers is due to the high cost of raw materials and poor marketing methods. The State should provide finance, improve processes and equipment, research, marketing, etc., so that we are able to produce goods at a cost and return comparable to those of other competing methods of production. The State cannot do a good deal on co-operative lines. That is why the co-operative should be an integral part of the development plan of the country. In the sphere of rural credit, marketing, cottage industries, etc., the role of the co-operative movement cannot be over-estimat-

ed. Cottage production can also be made efficient by the use of electricity.

Some Industries that can be Resuscitated.

The largest of small scale industries is hand loom weaving which gives occupation to about six million people. The cotton textile industry employs only 1/10 of this number. The total production coming from large scale industries is not so large as indicated by the number employed. We cannot judge their role in national economy by this test. So far as the All-India Spinners' Association is concerned even though it produced only 3 million lbs., still minimum wages are guaranteed to workers and employment given to a large number of people. We may have to pay higher prices for khadi, still they help the distribution of wealth which means welfare of the people. At a time when we are experiencing acute shortage of mill cloth, it stands to reason that we should develop hand spinning.

The work of All-India Village Industries Association

It was with the object of helping the villagers to add to their income by taking up profitable cottage industries that the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha, was started, which is now serving as a

central organisation for the resuscitation of village industries and the all round development of Indian village life. The Association has shown that village industries can stand for their merits. The Association naturally is supporting such industries as are of wide application, require little capital outlay and are capable of being tackled by each village without outside help. The Association has shown that if paddy husking and flour grinding are developed as cottage industries people can be given nutritive food. Further, rice when it is polished loses 10% of its weight. Similarly there are millions of palm trees and if they are used for making gur on cottage basis, several crore rupees worth of gur can be produced. It is estimated that each tree yields during the season five rupees worth of gur. India is the largest producer of oil seeds and if they are crushed in the villages, people can be assured of nutritive and fresh oil. Cattle can be assured of oil-cake, village oilman can be assured of employment and stale oil can be utilised for the manufacture of soap, paints, varnishes, etc. Paper can be produced from all kinds of village wastes, such as old palmyra thatching, rags, waste paper, etc. Here again we can bring modern scientific knowledge and skill to bear on the industry in order to make it more efficient so that people can get profitable employment. Similarly the Association has demonstrated that pottery, soap-making, tanning, bee-keeping, etc., can be developed on

cottage basis. No critic can say that the work of the Association is insignificant.

Conclusion

We must remember that cottage industries exist so long as India lives in villages. They cannot fail to remind us of the times when they were the marvels of the world. They have lived all these years. There is a great need for us to conduct economic surveys and some of these industries can be included in the school curriculum so that boys earn while they learn. We must remember that the planning we envisage must be compatible with democracy. It is because that cottage industries afford to all individuals the means of subsistence on a footing of equality, that may claim the attention of those charged with the task of preparing a new social order. Hands must have precedence over numbers. Let us remember that the extent of mechanisation and the size of an industrial plan depends upon the relative scarcity and cost of labour and capital. Let us hope that public opinion will assert itself. As Professor Laski says 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.'

CHAPTER VII

Paper-making as a Cottage Industry

At a time when we are flooded with plans surprising in number and bewildering in variety, it is good there are at least some who say that we must plan in such a way that our teaming millions are helped. Practical planning need not wait for long. Any plan which has the welfare of the people of its objective, should have the economic activity of the masses at centre. As Prof. J.C. Kumarappa says, all plans should be people centred so that they will have their own ballast and equilibrium. From this point of view, Mahatma Gandhi has been all along emphasising the need for developing Village Industries so that distribution of wealth will naturally be the result of production. The processes will also be easily accessible to them. An attempt will be made in this chapter to deal with the need for developing paper-making as a Cottage Industry in which direction the All-India Village Industries Association has done much work.

Not New to India

Hand-made paper industry flourished all over

India up to 1870. After that, various causes such as importation of paper from abroad and establishment of paper mills, contributed to its decline. It is a simple industry needing little equipment and within the capacity of women and children at home. The processes involved are chiefly two: one whereby the constituent fibres of the materials used are reduced to a condition of minute sub-division and the other whereby they are brought to join a single fabric or sheet. The industry is not new in India. There was a time when hand-made paper was much in demand and people used hardly any imported stuff. Our ancestors used to write only on hand-made paper. But with the advent of the mechanical age and competition from cheap mill-made paper this industry declined. It did not die out completely, however, thanks to *sahukar*, who still uses hand-made paper for his account books, for which he requires durable paper.

Work of the A. I. V. I. A.

Paper is being produced even to-day according to the old indigenous method of cottage basis in several parts of the country. While retaining what is valuable in these methods the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha, of which Mahatma Gandhi is the president wishes to bring modern, scientific

knowledge and skill to bear on the industry in order to make it more efficient so that it may be able to give profitable employment to many who are at present without work and, therefore, without hope in the villages. To give an example, pulp was made with the use of *dhenki* worked out by human labour. But experience has shown that good pulp from original raw-materials can be prepared only by the assistance of power which also enables us to produce it in sufficient quantities. The A.I.V.I.A. Wardha, a few years ago decided to allow the use of power for the production of pulp under certain safeguards so that the worker is not exploited. This has no doubt given a fillip to the hand-made paper industry and we have since realised its great potentialities which if only put on the right direction and made to work along modern scientific lines (in which direction the Mysore Government is doing much) it can prosper rapidly.

Gandhiji on Hand-made Paper Industry

As Gandhiji observed once, "I know we are not just now out to compete in the open market but to show the artistic capacity of village life and set one standard in real art. If we set about competing, we are bound to be defeated in the end. Our success will depend upon customers' occupability and resourcefulness.

"We must depend upon our art bringing better income, not ability to compete in the open market. I shall never succeed in making a tooth brush according to the city article. But I must produce a village brush better in every way and demand my price. This is my conviction. Of course it means great concentration upon the thing."

Deckle-edged Paper

Referring to the deckle-edged paper Gandhiji holds the view: "Paper presents the largest field for the expression of idea. This is good as an indigenous contrivance. When a person wants us to cut the edges, for him we may do so. But the village paper is made to any size and should never have the edges cut. By cutting the edges, we lose plenty of paper and art. If we do not trim the edges, our original make has to be a little better than it is at present. That is different thing but the greatest demand will be for small sizes."

It will be interesting to note that in persuance of this view, the *Gram Udyog Patrika*, the official organ of the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha, is printed on paper, the edges of which are not cut out. This paper is called 'deckle-edged paper' and is stated to be in good demand.

Work of the Nizam's Government

It is really gratifying that the Hyderabad and Mysore States are doing much to resuscitate this industry. The hand-made paper industry in the Hyderabad State dates back to the days of the Moghuls when it was first established in the Aurangabad district. Here again the onslaught of machine-made paper dealt a blow to this industry to the point of extinction. The timely help of the State, however, saved it from that predicament and the State is now doing much to resuscitate this industry, and the quality of the paper was also improved considerably as a result of demonstrations at the various centres and the practical training of the paper makers in the Government Industrial Laboratory. The Government itself gives an object lesson to the public by purchasing large quantities of paper. It is really gratifying to note that waste paper which is an important raw material is supplied free to *bona fide* paper makers. It may be said that original raw materials are to be used so that the industry can stand on its own legs. One will be glad to learn that as a result of these efforts on the part of the Commerce and Industries Department of the Government of His Exalted Highness, this cottage industry has not only been saved from extinction but is increasingly flourishing. The Board of Industrial Trust Fund is also doing much. One can

say that this industry has great chances of expansion as the demand increases on behalf of the Government and public who should indeed purchase Desi paper for its everyday requirements. It is hoped that other States and provinces will emulate the example of the Hyderabad State. The Mysore State has also done much in the matter. If now hand-made paper is to be made in large quantity, we have to tackle the problem of facilities for credit and marketing. We have also to demonstrate the possibilities of this industry and establish a link between the producer and the consumer. It would be well if paper were produced for the local market so that the question of transport in these difficult times would not arise. Provison should be made for training paper-making instructors. At the Grem Sevak Vidyalaya of the All-India Industries Association, Wardha, provision is made for training students for rural uplift and instruction is given in paper-making, oil pressing, etc. It is hoped the public will take advantage of the unique facilities offered by the A. I. V. I. A.

Government Must Finance

Indeed Government can finance these centres for purchase of raw materials and equipment through the Co-operative Societies and give grants-in-aid to educated people who come forward to start industries

of their own. They can also have a central plant for production of pulp with the use of machinery and distribute it to the paper-makers to be converted into paper. India abounds in raw materials which can be effectively and cheaply converted into paper but are practically wasted now. Like Khadi, hand-made paper has become a symbol of nationalism. With the spread of literacy, we are bound to have a greater demand for paper. The civilization of a country is shown by the consumption of paper. The consumption of paper per head per annum in various countries is as under :—

U.S.A.	152 lbs.	Japan	18 lbs.
Germany	48 ,,	Egypt	5 ,,
India	less than	1 lb.	

This is the time when we can resuscitate village industries like paper-making. The true basis of freedom is economic independence which we cannot have unless we are self-sufficient.

CHAPTER VIII

Charkha in India's National Economy

Gandhiji has once said and rightly too, "If we have faith in our ideal, we should pursue it with unfaltering courage. Shastras have proclaimed that truth alone conquers. That is the universal law. If at times it seems to fail in life, it does not prove that the law is imperfect. It only proves the imperfection of the individual practising it." What a pity it is that when we are experiencing an acute shortage of cloth and villagers languishing for want of subsidiary occupations, we have not even considered the economic potentialities of this industry which is rightly said to be the 'livery of our freedom.' Let us remember that we cannot multiply Bombays and Calcuttas all over the country. We must find employment for the rural masses and others in towns, which means harnessing the human labour that has been running waste.

Nucleus of village arts and crafts.

Whether the Charkha is anything more than a stop-gap, a device which has to be adopted in the

absence of a suitable alternative, is by the point. From the economic point of view, we should remember that hand-spinning is one of the oldest of cottage industries in India and it was only after the economic transition characterized by the competition of cheap machine-made goods and increasing ruralization that this once flourishing cottage industry declined. In spite of it, thanks to the encouragement of a few rich people and the inherent advantages of it to serve as a subsidiary occupation to the agriculturists in their own houses, this industry persisted at least in some places. The master mind of Mahatma Gandhi gave a fillip to the revival of Charkha and the Swadeshi movement. The Indian National Congress has rightly given Charkha a central place in its programme of economic uplift. It was in pursuance of this ideal that the All-India Spinners' Association was started "to finance and direct the production and sale of Khaddar to its various production centres and sales depots." According to Mahatma Gandhi, the revival of Khadi is a part of the nation-wide campaign for rural reconstruction. That is why times without number he has said, "the Charkha is the sun round which all other village arts and crafts revolve."

Why Charkha should Come to Stay

While several people say that there is no meaning in encouraging the Charkha in these days of rapid

industrialisation and some well-known economists have even dubbed Mahatma Gandhi as 'a mystic dabbling in politics and economics,' still we should remember that it was he who has built up institutions to foster his ideas and given them a concrete shape. That is why we find that the tendency at present has been to study Gandhian economics, a subject which was once a taboo.

The one argument in support of hand-spinning is that it is very well suited to the economic and social conditions of our people. It gives employment to the large numbers of our rural population in their own natural surroundings. The largest of small-scale industries is hand-loom weaving which gives employment to about 6 million people. The cotton textile industry employs only one-tenth of that number. It is, of course, true that the total production is not so large as indicated by the numbers employed. One of the important factors we have to consider is that the use of hand-spun yarn instead of mill yarn would make the working classes in towns and villages less dependent on mills. That is why the Charkha not only supplies cheap and durable clothes to the villagers but also serves as an occupation subsidiary to agriculture. We know that the agriculturist is free for nearly six months in the year. The use of machinery and the need for industrialisation need not detain us because

they are by the point.

For Gandhiji this question has extra economic considerations. Ultimately "his economic philosophy springs from a certain view of the end of good life as he conceives it." This is an age of planning. We have to consider what planning is. As the note for the guidance of the sub-committees of the National Planning Committee observes, "planning is not only to be considered from the point of view of economics and the raising of the standard of living but must include cultural and spiritual values and the human side of life." Therefore, it may be said that we need not answer questions like "can the Charkha spin good yarns as the power spindle?", "can the Charkha give full-time occupation to the people?" etc. The only point that may be mentioned here is that the Charkha gets a few rupees even at the door, a fact which cannot be ignored. That is why Mr. G. D. H. Cole observes, "Gandhi's campaign for the development of the home-made cloth industry—Khaddar—is no more fad of a romantic age to revive the past but a partical attempt to relieve the poverty and uplift the standard of the Indian villager."

We should also remember that hand-spinning requires little outlay and running expense, which is not so in the case of a spinning mill. We need not be carried away by the industrial developments of the

West. For a long time agriculture is bound to be the mainstay of the people, in which case the agriculturist should be enabled to work during the periods of agricultural inactivity. We should remember that handicrafts like spinning alone will enable the worker to have at least a subsistence living.

Another argument in support of Charkha is that the young, old, infirm and even the blind can take to it and eke out his or her livelihood. Even, so far as equipment and appliances are concerned, we should say that they are so simple that they can be made by the village carpenter. The slivers can easily be produced locally.

The Achievement of A. I. S. A.

Several economists refer to the work of the Spinners' Association and say that it has been able to produce only 3 million pounds whereas theyearly demand is for 13 hundred millions. It is a pity they fail to consider that this Association insists on minimum wage and a great part of the price we pay goes towards payment of wages. In our country capital is scarce and labour abundant and our anxiety should be to have not labour saving but labour absorbing appliances. There has been in recent years an attempt to improve the technique of production and even as against high prices, one has to say that

these help the distribution of wealth which means they will contribute largely to the welfare of the people. The Spinners' Association has been able to provide employment to large numbers of rural population in their natural surroundings. Let us remember that as against the capital of 50 crores invested in textile mills, the Association with a capital of 50 lacs has been able to find employment for over half the number engaged in the mill industry. Even in the matter of tools and processes, we must say they have undergone revolutionary changes and the Charkha Sangh has been trying to bring developments of science within easy reach of the masses. The evolution of the Magan-charkha, Dhanush-takli, etc., are pointers in the direction.

Yarn Currency

Mahatma Gandhi has even gone to the length of suggesting Khadi Yarn as Currency. As Gandhiji has recently said, "If the people appreciate a scheme of yarn currency, and yarn collection, yarn will be the means of procuring goods worth crores, physical labour will be wealth and easily compete with capitalists." He has, indeed, visualised yarn currency and two experiments are being attempted at Nalvadi (Wardha) and Bezwada. He feels that they can be extended all over India. Money in the form of yarn "increases

not by interest but by industry and labour of spinners." If the public understands the scheme through the instrumentality of yarn, goods worth crores can be produced and physical labour will indeed become money and easily stand in competition with capitalists. To quote Gandhiji in support of Khadi yarn as currency, "In my part of the country, shells and seedless almonds were used as coins accepted by the people and the State Treasury. They had no intrinsic value. They were a measure of people's deep poverty. They could not afford the lowest metal coin. Five shells would buy them a little vegetable or needle. I have suggested a measure which will not be mere token but which will always have an intrinsic value and which will have its market value also. For the present and by way of experiment, I have suggested a warp length of a single thread of a yarn as the lowest measure and to be used in dealings principally with the spinners and generally with Khadi lovers. The spinners can have all their daily wants supplied as against fixed quantity of yarn."

Need of State Support

It is a matter of common knowledge that as per the wish of Mahatma Gandhi the Charkha Sangh recently decided that part of the price of Khadi should be paid in yarn which should either be spun by the

purchaser himself or by the members of his family. Khadi has won for itself a place of honour in society, and in strict accordance with its ideal of decentralization of production, Gandhiji wants that every wearer of Khadi should spin yarn which is not after all very difficult. He has also demonstrated that if students are trained according to basic methods, popularly known as the "Wardha Scheme," Khadi can be introduced in the villages through 'Naee Taalim' and cloth produced by children will be sufficient to clothe the entire village.

It is in the fitness of things that Gandhiji calls Khadi as the sun of village industry, and compares various other handicrafts to planets in the solar system. The only point is that if we have faith in our ideal, we should pursue it with unfaltering courage. Without help from the State, not much can be done. The State should provide finance, improve processes and equipment and give facilities for research and marketing so that we are able to produce goods at a cost and return comparable to those of other competing methods of production of Khadi and village industries. There is little doubt, therefore, that the Charkha offers itself as one of the most suitable village industries giving employment to our partially employed and unemployed, which involves the harnessing of all human labour which has been practically running to

waste on account of the seasonal character of Indian agriculture and the absence of suitable subsidiary occupations. At a time when progress is usually associated with large-scale industrialization, it is good that the Charkha movement has demonstrated the need for the resuscitation of village life by decentralization of production. Let us repeat once again that we cannot multiply Delhis and Calcuttas.

CHAPTER IX

Social Security or Freedom from Want

The mention of social security in the Atlantic Charter and the war-time need for toning up labour morale have, indeed, brought into being more or less comprehensive Social Security plans in Great Britain, U.S.A. and other Western countries and, in fact, in every functioning Democracy. For a while it was thought that United Kingdom was not serious about plans in the direction and that the Beveridge Plan would be kept in cold storage. But all such beliefs are now to disappear as the House of Commons itself has unanimously approved of the plan for social insurance. In India also, the publication of the report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India and the invitation extended to Sir William Beveridge to visit India, show there is an attempt to move in the matter. One cannot help feeling that there is the tendency on the part of several people in India to think that plans in this direction are merely a step further in the direction of meeting the special needs of an Industrial Society, like sickness insurance,

old-age pensions and the like. A study of the plans evolved in other countries on the other hand reveals that the term Social Security is a much more positive concept, guaranteeing, as it does, to every member of the Society the minimum requisites of living and " ultimately the highest well-being compatible with national potentialities." The universality of coverage, emphasis on preventive and restorative measures, the all inclusiveness of benefits and contributions indeed permit a close tie of the social security programme with the plans for the Economic Development of the country.

Like another phrase talked about in these days, I refer to economic planning, a considerable amount of confusion prevails. As Sir William Beveridge rightly says, " social security starts from a diagnosis of want— of the circumstances in which families and individuals in a particular country might lack the means of healthy subsistence." It can easily be seen that abolition of want requires provision against interruption and loss of earning power, adjustment of income, etc., about which we shall see a little later. The idea of social security, in other words, springs from the deep desire of men to free themselves from the fear of wants. We have to remove the causes of insecurity and assure the individual protection so necessary to meet the common risks of life, which he is unable to

meet by his own efforts.

Evolution of the Concept

In the beginning there was the idea of social assistance which was provided by the family and later supplemented by neighbourly charity. From experience, it was found that these were inadequate for the needs of the individual. Thus the state had to undertake the work of poor relief. Other forms of social assistance also were introduced. The third was the increased provision of social assistance by the state in the form of social insurance which is based on "compulsory mutual aid and is a compromise between social assistance and commercial insurance." Where, in addition to the contribution of the individual, the state as well as the employer contribute with the result that the indemnity promised is much larger. At the present time, social insurance has evolved in the direction of workman's compensation, sickness insurance, unemployment insurance, etc. It has been felt in recent times, that a comprehensive plan of social security is the greatest need of the times so that there is universality of coverage in respect of persons, risks and the like. An attempt has been made to fuse all of them into a unified and comprehensive scheme so that all the individuals and classes working in different occupations may have the benefit of the same.

Need for Social Security in India

It is unfortunate that, till now, we could not evolve plans in this direction though a few attempts were made here and there. But the deteriorating conditions of the lower classes of our population, the growth of the Socialistic spirit, and the schemes evolved in the other countries have made us realise that we should do something in the matter. The aim of Social Security Plans, in short, are and should be to provide security of income to the individual so that he is free from want. If anybody is ever in want, he cannot do anything either for himself or to the nation. It may be said that, with the disappearance of want, will disappear many troubles which make our lives unhappy. I may say that much of the discontent at present is due to the want.

The aim of the individual has been recognised to be to do his best or to contribute his instructed judgment for the benefit of himself and of the nation. That is possible only when he is ensured security of service and livelihood. If he is left to himself or if he has to carry on struggle for existence without aid there will be neither incentive nor time to do anything for the country. This is the experience of the vast majority of us. Thus, if a man has got to devote a part of his time to the nobler activities of his life other than fulfilling his wants so as to make it possible for the

evolution of a higher culture, there must be leisure and freedom from want. The introduction of machinery, scientific discoveries, etc. enable us to remove the drudgery of life and produce more with the result that the man can do something for the welfare of the nation.

Why Wants Arise?

The starting point of all economic activities is said to be the existence of human wants and production is meant to satisfy them. If we want to relieve the people from wants, we have, indeed, to consider why wants arise. They arise because of the lack of resources of livelihood. Sometimes whenever there is cessation or interruption of work and consequently of earnings, we all feel the pinch of want. Again, if a man cannot balance his budget within the regular income he also feels want. Social Security Plans have thus to deal with these implications and evolve a plan of action.

In the case of want arising out of the absence of sources of livelihood, we can easily see that it may be due to lack of remunerative employment, incapacity to engage counsel or absence of earning members in the family. Referring to lack of employment the problem that we have to consider is whether it will be possible for us to provide employment to all those who are

in need of it. Social Security, however, demands it. Every one must be assured of his livelihood when he is prepared to work. Referring to absence of earning members and incapacity to engage oneself in productive activities, the state will have to do something in the case of disabled, infirmed, old, orphans, children, etc.

Inability to keep within Regular Income.

The factor of inability to keep within one's income is responsible for the bulk of our population living in perpetual want. If we just calculate the income per capita in India it is miserably low. Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao estimates it at Rs. 65 per annum but the Central Provinces Government Industrial Survey Committee after a survey of over six hundred villages has come to the conclusion that income of the rural masses cannot be more than Rs. 12 per annum. You and I may not be. getting this low income but it is heart-rending to find that the bulk of our population is on starvation level. Compare ours with the per capita income in other countries. It is—

			Rs.
U.S.A.	...	...	2,053
U.K.	...	...	1,092
France	...	...	636
Japan	...	...	271
India	...	...	65

Even this income is unequally distributed. As Professor K. T. Shah says, 1% of the population owns 35% of the total wealth, 32% of the total population owns 33% of the national wealth, the remaining 67% owns 32% of the wealth. The greatest defect in India's economic structure is the unequal distribution of our national dividend among the various classes of the population. Professor Pigou says that even in a country like England, with such a high national income, it is not possible to provide for all its citizens with a really high standard of living. If this is so, in a country with a per capita income of about 15 times as large as ours, no words are needed to show the unsatisfactory economic condition and the standard of living of our people.

Further, the proportion of earning to dependents is also high. Owing to the social institutions like joint family system the size of the families is rather large. Consequently majority of our people are in perpetual want and therefore unable to make ends meet.

The Problem of Population.

As population has great connection with the standard of life and want, we may also consider this question. Leaving aside the question as to whether India is over-populated, increasing population sunk in poverty. With a high standard of living, the responsi-

bilities of parenthood are increasingly recognised and human beings are willing to limit the size of the family so as to make it possible for an increase in the standard of living. It has been truly said that " the support of a small family on a decent standard of life makes for discipline and a healthy family life much more than unrestrained reproduction with a large progeny struggling for existence." In Western countries birth control is a primary means of attacking poverty and of elevating social life above the lure of production and food getting.

A national policy with regard to population is possible in the form of propaganda through cinema, radio, press, etc. It is truly said that the impact of growing members on our ill-balanced economy is to be taken into account. Unless we follow an energetic population policy in a planned economic policy which will of course be a part of a wider social policy. Thus, in the social security plans for India, plans for balanced and reasonable growth of the population should find an important place. The problems of our social pathology, poverty, misery, disease, crime, etc., are all to be taken into account.

The Beveridge Plan

Much has been said and written about the Beveridge Plan for England which has now been accepted by the

Parliament. The object of the plan is to provide for security of income through a scheme for compulsory insurance for which population is divided into six classes. Common needs are provided for. Provision is also made for basic retirement pensions, maternity grants, grants for widows, employment to the unemployed, etc. The plan is now studied the world over as an example for what a progressive Government can do in the case of the sick, unemployed, old, etc. The scheme will really mean protection for every individual from the " womb to the tomb."

The Adarkar Plan

Thus we can see that social security policy is being planned in several countries as a part of a larger programme of economic planning. That is why there is a great emphasis on preventive and restorative measures. We in India think that we can start with only social assistance to limited groups of workers, like medical relief, workmen's compensation, etc. The idea of social insurance has been adumbrated in the Bombay Plan and in the sickness insurance scheme evolved by Prof. Adarkar which touches only a population of 12 lakhs of workers working in textiles, engineering, and mineral and metals. Even here factories with less than 500 workers are excluded from the benefits. We do not have any unemployment

insurance or old-age pensions to supplement the health insurance scheme. While the difficulties in the direction of evolving a comprehensive scheme need not be underestimated one cannot but say that instead of drawing up isolated schemes it will be better if we draw up a comprehensive scheme which guarantees every citizen hazards. There is no reason why industrial and commercial workers also share and be given priority. Reference may be made to agricultural workers who toil in the fields day in and day out. Again, in majority of occupations, persons only get a pittance and they also require social security. A bolder plan is the greatest need of the times.

Conclusion

Thus, social security plans for India imply removal of unemployment, old-age pensions, plans for balanced population, labour welfare, increased standard of living, etc. A time has come when a social security plan should be put forward. Even though we are living in a world of uncertainties when what we have planned today may be irrelevant tomorrow, still it is not wise to postpone a consideration of this problem. We can have at least a clear conception of our objectives so that we can make preparation for their attainment. The social security plans should not, indeed, fail on the bed-rock of half satisfied want

and the problem of national income and its distribution should therefore be taken into account. In this article an attempt has been made to give the nucleus of ideas round which the social security plans are to be developed. It is hoped that public opinion will assert itself. Eternal vigilance, as Prof. Harold J. Laski says, is the price of liberty.

CHAPTER X

Some Problems of Labour Welfare

It is a good sign of the times that the present war has brought in its train several problems and the attempt to draft legislation for fixing minimum wages for labourers is really a welcome one and it indicates a healthy tendency in our economic life. Similarly the attempt to have 48 hours a week for all factory workers is a step in the right direction. It can be justified not only on physical grounds but also from the point of view of the employers, because it adds to the efficiency of the worker. Advanced countries have already done much in this direction and we will be doing nothing revolutionary if we adopt eight-hour day.

Till now, production was the concern of the owner and the worker had really no concern. There was practically no co-operation between capital and labour. Their relations were not that of partners engaged in the production of goods for public consumption but that of a master and a slave. It is really good for the first time the need for collaboration has

been felt. Taking England, for example, the entire production during war time was made possible because of complete concord between labour and management through the Joint Works Committees. Even President Truman who recently convened the labour management conference observed that by having a machinery to prevent or settle industrial disputes, the labour management conference will make a vast progress towards industrial peace which will lay the foundation for economic prosperity and security. In other words, the old idea of treating workers as chattels from whom as much work as possible should be taken in return for a small sum of money should be totally abandoned. It must be recognised that the human element is most important in the prosperity of every industrial undertaking and the existence of any factor that would adversely affect the attitude of the worker to his job must necessarily react on his productive capacity. The relations between employers and the employees should not only be cordial but must be conducive to his mental satisfaction and physical comfort. Low wages and low standard of living will only result in low productivity. If the industrial resources of India are to be fully developed, collaboration between labour and capital is indispensable. It is desirable that employers should launch welfare activities like good housing, canteen, and mess facilities, free medical aid, rest rooms, workers' libraries, educational

facilities, co-operative stores, etc. These will no doubt ensure smooth and efficient working of industrial concerns. Already enlightened industrialists like the J. K. Group of Industries, Tatas, and others have started working on these lines.

The need for obviating unmistakable signs of fatigue like absence, increase in accidents has been felt by the Government and factory executives. That is why reduction in the hours of work has been proposed to alleviate fatigue. It is said that where week-end rest pauses are given from Friday evening to Monday morning, it has a marked effect on the general outlook of the workers. Rest pauses in them ideal of the work when they can have a cup of tea is also advocated. This will prevent loss of efficiency, weariness, tastelessness and accidents. Similarly the principle of 'music while you work' provides a relief particularly in the latter hours of work towards the end of the shift when energy begins to flag. The need for improvement of lighting may also be mentioned.

Some Practical Attempts

The Managing Engineer of the Rajkot State Electric Supply Company has already been able to experiment some of these ideas and achieved a certain degree of success.

The employees are all insured under Endowment Scheme. One month's pay is given as premium for the insurance. In this way, a person getting an income of about Rs. 50/- per month can easily make provision for dependents to the extent of Rs. 3,500/- in case of accidental death. All the employees are insured under provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Even so far as medical help is concerned, free medical aid is given to the employees and their family members. Not only this : when the doctor recommends milk, eggs, and any other nutritive food, they are given free as long as they are necessary. Rai Bahadur Das tells me that if a man suffers from chronic anaemia or Tuberculosis, it is no use giving medicine only because they will be ineffective, unless the worker takes proper diet which he cannot afford to because of low wages. This experiment, he says, has gone a long way in increasing the efficiency of the workers. Statistical data available with him reveals that a worker who is suffering from chronic anaemia etc., has been able to gain three to four pounds per month when supplied with a cup of milk and an egg every day. This, he says, is an investment because this leads to increased efficiency, mutual goodwill and a consequent increase in output.

In a country where a considerable portion of

workers go without treatment and only few employers like Tatas, Calico Mills, and Delhi Cloth Mills have realised this need, this experiment is a welcome one. The present writer wishes to emphasise the need for registration requiring all establishments employing more than 500 workers to maintain a dispensary, and a physician and in the case of small industrial concerns, their resources should be pooled by mutual agreement.

Workers are entitled to bonus of one month's pay according to profits.

Employees are paid in cash for unenjoyed privilege leave.

A new scheme for the supply of vegetable and milk to all employees has been recently launched and arrangements are made to supply vegetables about 400 lbs. a day to start with to the employees. The lower income groups will be given the right to purchase them first at a reduced rate on an average of one anna a pound. This is necessary because they cannot afford to purchase them at a high rate in the open market. It is proposed to build a few rest houses in agricultural farms, so that convalescents can live there, away from the dust of the city.

It need not be added that all workers are paid for overtime work.

Regarding the proposal for 48 hours a week, an experiment at 40 hours a week has been tried in the Power House and has been worked with a considerable degree of success. This no doubt helped tiding over the evil effects of fatigue which lead to unsocial industrial relations like neglect of duty, non-cooperation, etc. This has no doubt helped the Power House to serve the public uninterruptedly even under war-time conditions.

The present writer cannot but say that this experiment is a sound one and deserves to be emulated by others interested in labour welfare. It no doubt shows how all the present problems with which we are concerned were visual as long as in 1937.

The Problem of Housing.

Another important problem is the one relating to housing. In the essay on our standard of living, it has been pointed out how our conditions in this respect are far from being satisfactory. It may be noted that more than ever before, there is need for a national policy for housing which will also help us to serve as an ante-depression measure. The Government of His Exalted Highness, it is gratifying to note, have considered this problem and the Hyderabad City Inprovement Board have designed a cement concrete hygienic structure which costs only Rs. 300/-.

It was one of the most interesting exhibits in the Industrial Exhibition. It may not be out of place to mention that the City Improvement Board was formed with the object of making Hyderabad the City Beautiful and one of its plans to realise this end is to clear the slums and remove the ugly looking and thickly clustered houses. It has already built thousands of houses for people with low incomes. The new type of model and hygienic houses are meant for the poor and let us hope that the Government will make a headway in the matter. The industrial slums in various areas are a disgrace to us and it is high time we consider the problem in its proper perspective.*

Social Security

A word may be said about social security. The *raison d'etre* of any social security plan is the necessity of an equitable distribution of the profits and gains and hazards of an industrial civilisation. No country can progress if the hazards are to be borne by those who are least able to beart hem. Equilisation of the purchasing power of the different social classes is indeed the *sine qua non* of industrial progress. Only the modern State can attempt it which is really an indispensable chapter of the national programme to

* For other details the reader is referred to *Hyderabad Information*, December, 1945.

uproot unemployment, disease, etc. The contents of social security according to the committee in the U.S.A. are defined thus :—Security for employment, security for reasonable standards of working conditions, security of income while unemployed, security of retirement income, security of recreation, medical and hospital assistance and finally security of one's family in the case of one's accident, invalidity, ill-health or even death. India is badly in need of a social security plan because of the maldistribution of income and the conditions created by the war. Just as we make for the wear and tear of machinery, we must also make provision for the wear and tear of the workers. Because of the fact that the per capita income of the people in India is only Rs. 65/- per annum some say that we cannot spend much in this direction. But after all we can improve our national income by better organisation of our resources. Let us hope that very soon the social security plan prepared by Prof. Adarkar will become a *fait accompli.* So far as the priority in the structure of social security in India is concerned we should first adopt a minimum wage policy, then have a sickness insurance scheme financed by contributions from the employers, employees and the State and finally have the unemployment insurance scheme. It is only in this way that we can conquer disease, ignorance, squalor, unemployment, etc.

Conclusion

Let us hope that instead of piecemeal legislation which will defeat its own ends, the Government will place before the country a co-ordinated plan where the worker is assured of the minimum wage. Half measures will yield not only half results but in some cases no results at all. In all these matters, public opinion should assert itself.

CHAPTER XI

Future of War-time Industries

The decision of the Government of India to appoint a tariff board to consider the scope of expansion in peace-time of war-time industries and the need for protection is indeed a welcome sign that something will be done to these industries. A large number of industries have been established in India during the present war and the problem of their change-over to peace-time conditions is, no doubt, a difficult one. We must realise that the transition from war to peace economy in India is different from that of the U.S.A. or U.K. where factories already engaged in the production of goods were converted into war factories. The change-over in their case will mean reconversion of these factories for the production of goods required by the civilian population, but in India most of the war industries are new creations and it is feared that they will be wiped out if adequate protective measures are not taken.

The Sprouting of New Industries.

Thus it can be seen that in our case there is a great need for planned economic development and that is why several people say that we have to take a long-range view of things and because they have sustained the national economy during a period of exceptional stress and strain, we must protect them. It is well known that under the stimulus of war, industries like aluminium smelting, ship-building, aircraft assembly plant, chemicals, machine tools, wire nails, tool handles, drugs and miscellaneous goods have come into existence in addition to the principal industries like cotton textile, paper, sugar, etc. It is of course true that they have done much for the war effort and the Government have maintained a strong control over these industries by controls over capital issues, control over transport and control over motive power.

The Fears of Industrialists.

But it is unfortunate that when the war was about to come to a close, the Government of India showed eagerness to import consumer's goods from other countries which alarmed the industrialists who are producing them in this country. Now that transition is already on us, we have to consider one fact, namely, the Government must come forward with a definite

scheme to help the growth of these industries. There is practically no industry which is not entitled to peace-time given the time and facilities to establish itself. It is really unfortunate that the Government of India did not take up the matter seriously in the beginning. Canada and Australia took prompt steps immediately after the war broke out and that is the reason why industrialization in those countries has proceeded on sound lines. Industries are classified under basic, war-time and others. If the Government of India proceeded along these lines and long term and short term measures adopted to save these war-time industries, then things would have been easier during the present period of transition. We are facing acute competition. Further we must recognize that these industries must get adequate protection. This problem will be discussed a little later.

Need for Precautions.

It is necessary that our war industries should take certain precautions. Strong reserves should be built to provide against difficulties of depression. They should also make provision for the replacement of machinery. In this connection it may be said that the excess-profits tax should immediately go. Further rationalization may prove the best way for ensuring a state of full employment. Care should, however, be

taken to prevent over-production. Several companies foreign, of course, are working under the cloak of "India limited" and these are bound to be a perpetual menace to Indian industries and that is why rationalization is all the more necessary.

Fundamentals of a National Policy of Protection.

An all-round protection is necessary if our war-time industries are to prosper. It does not mean that all the industries should be protected. In fact the Government of India should appoint a fiscal commission to examine the tariff policy and to suggest ways and methods of assisting them. Instead, the Government have appointed a tariff board but the present writer feels that this fulfils limited functions. It has been our experience that *ad hoc* tariff boards of the discriminating protection era have not yielded fruitful results. It would have been better had there been a permanent tariff board and an industrial survey made so that we can have the right vision into the country's future. It is a matter of common knowledge that discriminating protection was really a half-hearted compromise and the conditions that (1) the industry must possess natural advantages; (2) the industry must be one which without the help of protection would not develop or grow, and (3) the industry must be one which will be able to stand competition

without protection after some time, could not be satisfied by any one industry. It is wellk nown that the main criticism we can offer is that the Fiscal Commission of 1921 failed to take a proper view of our industrial position. As Professors Wadia and Merchant rightly say, " never in the history of any country has protection been granted in such a half-hearted, reluctant manner as in India, a country ailing from all the ills of an unbalanced economy predominantly dependent on agriculture and possessing immense potentialities for industrialization". It must be said that it is very difficult for an industry to exist itself and again show that it cannot make a headway without protection. Who will go to a doctor when one is healthy ? That is why it is rightly said that the industrial backwardness is really created by the artificial process of a forced tariff policy.

Limitation of Free Trade.

What we need is freedom from competition. A long term policy regarding industrial protection is the greatest need. We must know that the principle of free trade will be useful only when nations trade freely on a footing of equality. Otherwise international trade will be a big farce. The sound basis on which we demand protection is the claim for self-sufficiency It is really unfortunate that the Government of India

has appointed the tariff board for the definite purpose of considering the problem of war-time industries. But when problems like excise duties, foreign markets, imperial preference, etc., are irrevocably linked up with the problem of war-time industries, it is doubtful how their recommendations can be of great use. Industrial protection and economic planning are linked together and that is why it is often said that for protection no tariff period is recognizable. The Government of India should have decided to institute a long-term tariff inquiry straightaway and given protection to war-time industries in the meanwhile. As has already been referred to, consumer's goods are already dumped on us, and they are sure to kill many of our nascent industries. It is often said that foreign snows and hair oils are in great demand in India whereas Indian snows are in demand in Iraq and other countries because they are cheap. It passes one's comprehension why we do not support our own Swadeshi products. It is necessary the Government also should consider the question of export markets, etc., and all these can be considered only when they institute a comprehensive tariff inquiry. It is hoped that the Government will consider the apprehensions of business and trade circles that with the end of war, war-time industries will experience a good many difficulties.

Conclusion.

Let us hope that the Government will do everything possible for their conversion from war to peace-time expansion. Let it be said that no permanent solution can be achieved unless a government representing the people and responsible to them is set up at the centre. In other words, only a national Government will be able to control and guide our currency, tariff, transport and other economic problems. To those that still say that we should believe in the principle of free trade, it may be said that " international commerce between nations that are equal in status, enjoy real opportunities making free contracts, that exchange not raw materials for finished goods but genuine surpluses which involve no sacrifice for consumers is alone beneficial to humanity ; such commerce redounds to the mutual benefit of both parties in the exchange ". Otherwise if supposing we export raw materials to other countries and allow our land to be used as a dumping ground, the magnitude of human suffering can better be appreciated than written.

CHAPTER XII

Hurdles to International Peace

The New Security Charter X-rayed.

The end of the armed hostilities is bound to bring to the suffering of the mankind a sense of profound relief. It is good sign of the times that, once again, we have realised the need for understanding the implications of one world, one programme and one aim and are ready to act in a co-operative spirit so that humanity as a whole stands to gain. It has required the grim spectacle of two wars to us to know that it means a new sense of values, intellectual and moral which alone will be able to meet the challenge of the new times. We have won the war; but it may be mentioned that the need for collaboration in winning the peace is greater than it was for winning the war. We may, of course, pay a tribute to the enlightened self-interest of the present generation. One point has to be mentioned. All these ideals require a revaluation of our sense of values, reorientation of our past ideas and reorganisation of our existing institutions.

We all say that we should work for lasting peace. It really means banishing hunger, want, squalor, disease, ignorance, etc. A comprehensive draft was adopted by the United Nations which promises not only square meal, plenty of butter and bread to the world as a whole but also higher standard of employment and economic development, social, cultural uplift, etc. which are grand eloquent terms but never fulfilled by the high-priests of international peace. Anyway these are some of the attempts which portend the way in which the present generation is tackling the problem of peace.

Need for Economic Co-operation.

International co-operation is the instrument through which we can achieve these ideas. It has already been emphasised that if peace is to be permanent, we must have one programme for collectively building a new world-order based upon justice and fair-play. There is no denying the fact that if the world as a whole is to achieve any reasonable prosperity, we should co-operate with others instead of following the 'beggar my neighbour' policy. The need for co-operation in the economic sphere is so obvious that it is only by sincere co-operation that lasting prosperity could be achieved. It is only then that one could really derive the benefit from territorial division

of labour and reap the advantages of the theory of comparative costs. Unfortunately by exchange control, impediments to the free movement of labour and capital, the champions of international economic co-operation were themselves putting all sorts of obstacles in the way of economic freedom between the years 1933-39. We must remember that the last great depression was a product of restrictionist policies and its prolongation and intensity was due to various national measures taken to encourage home trade and employment and restrict international co-operation.

Implications or Assumptions.

Countries like England and U.S.A. want to maintain a high standard of living and this is possible only if they get free excess to the markets of the world to sell their surplus productions. Less economically developed countries feel the need for self-sufficiency. The first requisite is that the economically advanced countries must raise the standard of living of the less advanced countries even at the sacrifice of lowering a little of their own standard of living. The world as a whole should become a homogeneous unit with more or less equal standard in all countries. International economic co-operation will be of lasting benefit to all countries of the world when we realise that 'the advantages of comparative cost can only be

fully realised between nations of equal economic status. Until and unless the various nations achieve economic equality or more or less the same standard of living, international economic co-operation will always mean the exploitation of less economically developed countries by more developed countries.' The theory of comparative cost can only work to the benefit of mankind when all countries are more or less on equal economic level. We can easily see if all countries are sufficiently advanced, no exploitation is possible. Prof. Seligman, therefore, rightly says, "unless there is economic equality between the various nations, international economic co-operation will always remain a nice and polished name for the exploitation of the less economically developed countries." It is only when each nation is able to utilise its climate and other economic conditions for mutual benefit that Adam Smith's dream can be fulfilled.

International Co-operation in Monetary Sphere.

During the post-war period we are bound to feel the need for co-operation in monetary sphere. The collapse of the gold standard has left a void in the international economic relations which has to be filled. Fluctuating exchanges, irksome restrictions, bilateral agreements have demonstrated the evils of monetary nationalism and shaken the world of complacency.

As Wendell Wilkie rightly observed : " Political internationalism without economic internationalism is a house built on sand."

The post-war period is bound to present us with monetary problems of immense magnitude like stabilisation of exchanges, regulation of international capital movements, the problem of unilateral transfers, etc. We have to establish a suitable machinery for effective international action. Brettonwood's conference has indeed carried some of these ideas to the plane of practical politics. It has indeed produced the first international currency agreement to establish a monetary fund to stabilis ecurrencies and world Bank to finance reconstruction. If these are to fructify, exchange clearing will become a permanent feature instead of becoming a temporary expedient to meet an emmergency in addition to the substitution of multilateral clearing in the place of bilateral agreements. International transfers will be greatly facilitated by the establishment of a system of scientific regulation. It would indeed check speculative activities in foreign exchange which has been a perennial source of unstability in the past. The Bank, in addition, will help the reconstruction of war devastated countries. One cannot but say that India was not given a fair deal in the said conference and even the modest request for permanent membership was turned down.

The Great Charter X-rayed.

In the political sphere, the signing of the great security Charter at the San Fransisco Conference recently and its ratification by the U.S.A., are a welcome augury. But several people sarcastically remark that if "words and sentiments can save mankind from scourge of war the great Charter with its 10,000 words and preamble of unsurpassable sentiments would prove to be the most effective guarantee of perpetual peace". After all we must remember that the beautiful covenant of the now defunct League of Nations, with all its Wilsonian utopianism was of similar type and it was swept away in the rising tide of power politics.

In this connection, several people blame the League of Nations for its failure to prevent the recurrence of war. It was used as an instrument for debate rather than an instrument of action. But one should say that it is not the League which failed but the great Powers betrayed it. They were suspicious of one another and were using the League for their own individual interests instead of promoting the needs of the world order or world unity. *Status quo* may be very good for those whose stomachs are full. But to those countries that suffer from over-population, narrow markets, etc., it would spell disaster. That is why there was the gradual relapse of the powers

to the old conception of the international affairs, and their consequent inability to live up fully to the new conception of the international peace. The European world gradually moved towards separate alliances and the maintenance of balance of power. Under these circumstances, it is little wonder that the League could not achieve anything in the matter of preventing war, reduction of armament or the promotion of world co-operation. When Japan invaded Manchuria (both members of the League of Nations), no action was taken as contemplated in Article 16 of the covenant. The real reason for its failure was that there was no moral internationalism, the full recognition of moral principles in international relations and will to support them by sanctions.

It is good the new security Charter has been hailed as an instrument of security and human welfare, the aims and function being the effective prevention of international conflict. The United Nations will have a General Assembly, Security Council consisting of 5 permanent members and 6 others elected by the General Assembly for 2 years, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat. The only effective organ of the new League is the Security Council in which each of the Big Five will enjoy the right of veto. The Security Council will function continuously. From

this point of view we can say that the foundations of international peace will have been solidly laid and the United Nations have proceeded realistically in the building up of the new world organisation. They have also agreed to give armed force in implementing the decisions of the Council. It is argued that sanctions provided in the New Organisation are not new and may fail as much as the League of Nations.

Considering the prospects of success or failure of the United Nations, one should say that even though a fairly comprehensive draft was adopted by the Council which promises higher standard of living, full employment, social security, cultural uplift, etc., one cannot but say that retaliatory measures may prove harmful to the cause of peace and security of the world. That is, fair deal is to be given to all the nations if there is any sense of justice in any nation, history may repeat itself and there may be a volcanic erruption at any time. Until the underlying causes of war which pivot round the greed of the powerful and the humiliation and exploitation of the weak and the vanquished are effectively removed, victory may not be more than the falsedown of a fugitive peace.

It is also good that non-self government territories will be assisted for the establishment of political institutions according to the particular circumstances of each territory and their varying stages of economic

advancement. We would realise that the factors which disturb international peace are economic competition and social inequalities between the various nations. So long as blocs of human beings are leading a starving existence there can be no lasting peace.

Anyway one should say that the conference has come to decisions which really augur well for the future of mankind and the charter may rightly be called a document to outlaw wars. But it may be said that the future of the world peace, the hopes of the millions of the human race—those as Ramaswami Mudaliar rightly said do not depend upon texts, however eloquent in any charter. They depend on the spirit in which nations are prepared to respond and adopt the sentiments and obligations of the charter.

Hope of a New World-Order.

Cynics will say that we will be very much disappointed if we can expect much from the new charter. The present writer feels that if the fights of individuals and nations are guaranteed by freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and fear, and if the world citizenship of the New World-Order is guaranteed to one and all, then we may be able to evolve a new order which will become useful to international peace. The future world state

must be a genuine League of Nations based upon their federal principle. There should also be a code of international law binding on all nations. Though disarmament is one of the essentials of peace for the world, there must be an international police or peace force to enforce the decisions of the United Nations.

Let us remember that we do not want the policing of one half of the world by another half. It should be the policing of the world, by the world and for the world. Even in matters economic, it is only by international economic co-operation that humanity can be assured of freedom from want. There must be an international language and English stands every test to satisfy our requirements.

Conclusion.

One may be annoyed at the present state of affairs in the world. In fact, the dignity of human personality is the soul of all planning. At the present time there is conflict of ideologies, selfishness of nations and after all our hopes may end in dupes. But we must remember that ultimately it depends upon the spirit of man. We must develop the spiritual vision, that is faith, and the spiritual will that is charity. Every one of us should realise that we have to contribute our mite in the building up of a new order realising the sublime implications of the ideal of

brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God. In all these matters East and West must be made to meet and work in unison for international peace. History and Geography point to India as the bridge-builder between the East and West. Let us hope that the Powers appreciate this fact in the building up of the new world order and assist Indians 'towards self-government'. It is rightly said that "the world cannot forget that India has yet to reap the fruits of a truly democrat victory. One-fifth of the human race has yet to occupy its rightful place as free people. No peace can last long until India is allowed as a free country equal status to the great countries of the world. Let us hope that the victorious Powers will usher in an era of the common man and real peace. Sir S. Radhakrishnan is right when he observes : "While fighting, we talk of the emergence of a new world and when the fighting is over, we strive to restore the old order. If this process is repeated, this war is a waste and all our sacrifices are a mockery."
